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Sometimes a tamhę'k (p. 98) is made to assume the duty of officially tasting sweet potatoes and gourds prior to the harvest. Thus, the Indians hope to improve their crops at the eleventh hour because the tamhę'k, especially if young and vigorous, are credited with the magical power of improving and increasing the yield. The member chosen is then decorated with the falcon down appropriate to his organization.

*Storage.*—According to Ribeiro the Eastern Timbira cached their food supplies from year to year in special storehouses: "... e entre tanto que cresce e sazona a plantação comem elles a coberto das invernadas os generos que do anno passado ficam reservados em paioes particulares, que cada familia guardou escondidamente para si."[100] Personally I have never seen anything deserving of the designation paiol (storage room)—except for the modern, closed attics. Tubers—sweet potatoes, yams, bitter and sweet manioc, as well as arrowroot—are left in the ground, where they keep best. Thence the Indians take just enough to supply several days' need. Gourds and beans are rarely kept for a longer period; ground nuts are stowed away in little baskets and bags of burity bast. Maize, too, is usually left in the plantation as long as possible and brought home according to demand. Finally, the residue is carried to the house in one lot, the husk-covered ears being hung in bunches below the roof so as to be protected against insects by the smoke. Another way is to fill large burity baskets and stoppered gourd vessels with the kernels, but there they usually soon fall prey to insects. Rice, when ripe, must be harvested forthwith; at first it is gathered in the plantation on a grate of poles covered by a roof, later it is gradually transferred to the village, where it is piled up in the attic in regularly stratified heaps. This process, like rice-growing itself, is derived from the Neobrazilians.

Real care is devoted only to next year's seed-corn, which is stored in firmly corded bags and gourds closed with wax, these containers being packed in baskets usually suspended high up under the roof.

## Hunting

The agricultural progress of the Indians is not due to Neobrazilian example nor to the instructions of missionaries and officials of the Indian Welfare Service. It was grim necessity that drove the natives to create a new basis of subsistence. The reduction of the tribal territory to one-twentieth of its former extent; the encroachments of Neobrazilian cattle on even this residual habitat; and the use of firearms in hunting by Neobrazilians and, to some extent, also by the Indians caused such diminution of big game that hunting rapidly lost its economic significance. The younger people of today know tapirs, jaguars, or the mutum (*Mitus mitu*) at best from the narratives of their elders. The only groups preserving the normal aboriginal state in this respect are the Western Gaviões, who bar civilized individuals from their woods, and the Timbira of the Gurupy, beyond whose riparian dwellings extend vast tracts of wholly unsettled forests. All other tribes have for a long time depended primarily on vegetable fare. At festivals, as I discovered among the Krahô', the hunters often vainly exert themselves for weeks in order to secure the game flesh required for the ceremonially prescribed meat pies. During my stay with the Pųkóbye I saw no meat except that of stolen head of cattle. While spending six days among the Kre'pų'mkateye I saw no booty from the chase except for a capybara (*Hydrochoerus capibara*); and when I arrived among the Krikatí the chief's welcome was the indignant query why I had not brought some meat.

[100] Memoria, § 11.

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but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhą'k went there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhą'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhą'k's lips. For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhą'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhą'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kú'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imą̃ prire kuna yamãke imą̃ katí vakokú rųité a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

### Fishing

Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance has been noted by Snethlage, too.[39] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *c*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron, mostly from North America, and are designated by the term ãyó, derived from Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and called kalón by the Timbira, the tinguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the Indians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

[39] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

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794 Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with
619 the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group
574 visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young
554 man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the
574 message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy
[648] chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[100] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

794 This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that
778 as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging
611 uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

794 Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątũ,
123 my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

554 A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every
576 way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member
794 of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

794 The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if
789 young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[100] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the fish victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen glue vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

### Formalized Friendship Bonds

#### 1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kẽẽa; Prjčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krąkupẽ'; Nyõñą'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ípey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

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512 535 623 836

The third dance usually commences after 7 P.M. subsequent to the councilors' meeting. It always has the largest attendance, which includes spectators, especially mothers, grandmothers, and aunts who come to watch their girls dance and later escort them home. As a rule the dance lasts until 9 P.M., but sometimes much later. From time to time Čątú, or sometimes one of the councilors, inspires the performers to greater efforts by admonitions, praise, and protracted shouting. At the close of the performance the married folk and the virgins go home, but the unmarried mepantúa and several wantons usually remain in the plaza at the station peculiar to them. A youth who has a mistress crawls under a mat with her that renders the couple invisible. Some one individual may sing on for himself for a while, then there is complete silence in the village until at 3 A.M. the precentor's rattle once more sounds his summons.

535 171

This mode of dancing seems common to all Timbira. I have seen it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also among the Krĩkatí, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krahõ', and Apą'nyekra, and the Apinayé manner of dancing is extraordinarily similar.

535

In addition, however, there are a number of dances for amusement into which the nocturnal dance for the most part merges, and of these I will describe the knee (mekonkrãne mekrére) and the arrow dance.

The former I observed in 1933 about the time of the terminal ceremony of the pepyé, but it was not related to that initiation and might just as well have been performed at any other time. At 4 A.M. I was awakened by Čątú, who with another man was getting the girls together. Finally eighteen of them in the company of a precentor were squatting on their heels in a circle round a fire in the plaza. Singing with regularity, the precentor on his knees slid in a circle around the girls, at last vigorously shaking his rattle at one of them. Thereupon she also glided about on her knees, moved outside the circle, then backward in a circle in front of the precentor, moving her arms as in a dance, until she had returned to her position. This was repeated by each girl. Once the precentor glided to the right and the girl toward the left in a circle. In the meantime eight men marched in a slow dance step clockwise round the seated group and sang the "ilire" song, which refers to [533] popere, the electric eel (*Gymnotus* sp.).

The arrow dance, a very jolly affair, was performed one evening almost at dusk. The participants were ten girls, a troop of youths, and a precentor. To one side, at the edge of the plaza, were camped the wakõkama in the station proper to their age class. The order of the dances was the customary one. One youth was holding a bow and arrow in his hand, of which the precentor relieved him during the dance, turning them over to a girl. She stepped out of the line, fitted the arrow to her bow while the dancers continued unperturbed, then with stretched bow chased away the quietly watching wakõkama. Next she turned to the dancing youths, pursued them, and at last discharged one of the arrows at a youth, who of course eluded it with agility. Thereupon she returned to her position, while the precentor turned the weapons over to another girl, etc. But when they had once more got into the youth's possession, he suddenly turned toward the girls, menacing them with the stretched bow so that they dispersed with cries of alarm. But presently they reunited, and the play went on. Sometimes the girls shot at the wakõkama without ever hitting anyone, and the young men responded to each shot with a loud "rrr!" Finally they suddenly leapt up and with uplifted clubs chased the girls in all directions. This ended the entertainment.

535 [532] 789

The dances hardly involve any erotic stimulation, but as a by-product some of

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535 789 the nocturnal ones are said to promote hunting and farming. Before a hunting trip they sing of one game animal after another, recounting the species to be killed. This is really done to improve one's luck, for a hunting party that has met with failure will improvise such dances in camp in order to obtain better results at the last moment; for lack of girl dancers and singers their place is taken by men. I have not been able to discover any difference between such hunters' dances and those of daily life.

A grasshopper dance, with boys dancing in squatting posture, one behind the other, serves to promote the sweet potato crop.

### ENGAGEMENT

584 The proposal emanates either from the prospective groom's kinswomen or the bride's, from the bride herself, or—probably most rarely of all—from the groom. Among the Ramkō'kamekra, too, there are many mothers and aunts who indulge in the harmless pleasure of providing prospective husbands for their daughters and nieces—sometimes very prematurely. Such arrangements are not of course strictly binding, for no one can be coerced into wedlock. In some cases they may actually result in marriage, but for the most part the young people on coming of age do as they please, irrespective of the negotiations entered into by their kindred while the parties concerned were still in their infancy.

834 584 As children the fiancés pay no attention to each other. On attaining maturity a youth visits his betrothed in her platform bed, which she hurriedly elevates to a level directly below the roof, and shields from the sight of the other inmates by a partition of mats (p. 41). However, nobody casts prying eyes in their direction, for in this regard the Timbira display exemplary discretion and considerateness even if personally interested in the relationship of the young people.

833 584 With the noiseless agility typical of the Indians in such circumstances the lad glides into the house in the dark and up into the platform bed. If its creaking did not betray his presence, hardly any resident would notice it any more than his departure a few hours later for the plaza, where he spends the remainder of the night. Such meetings do not lead to defloration, which no lovers would hazard within a dwelling since it always takes place outside the village. Thus it happens that more than one girl who has received a suitor's visit for hours night after night over a prolonged space of time may break the engagement as a virgin. For this reason no one may claim the otherwise customary indemnity from the visitor, and the girl may enter a formal marriage with another man. Pohl already observed this bundling custom among the Pōrekamekra and expressed surprise at the maintenance of virginity.[288] It is true that if a girl repeatedly enters and dissolves engagements, she ultimately loses her reputation, is no longer taken seriously by the marriageable young men, and becomes a wanton.

832 834 In so far as no special relationship contravenes, girls exhibit little reserve in contact with men well known to them; they expose themselves in their presence without a sense of shame and freely romp with them while bathing unless half the village should be watching. Anyone who wishes to remain on good terms must not balk at practical jokes, bites, pinching, and scratching as he plays with them. As a rule they grow tender and affectionate only when tired from such strenuous pleasantries. Pining lovers and gallant knights would probably make little impression on these girls, but appear stupid and ridiculous. This does not exclude such suitor's favors as relieving a girl of her load, but this is done as inconspicuously as possible. Indeed, both sexes dislike public demonstration of their feelings

[288] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8



knife—a Collins 128—stuck in a new leather sheath, and calmly added it to the gifts. When the kạ'makra and atụ'kmakra go on a joint hunting trip, the former give to the latter a bow, whatever is required for shooting, and the knife for cutting up the game. The killer of a jaguar would exchange weapons with the first companion summoned by his call, even surrendering a gun for a bow. The tool used by the elders in manufacturing the kokré log at the close of the ceremonial period is not returned to the vụ'tẹ''s father.

Decorative articles manufactured by special persons for the wearer never remain his property, being generally passed on—sometimes after hardly a few minutes' use—to his hạpín. On the other hand, the kōkrị't masks become the property of the Mummers' "mothers" at the close of the festive period (p. 212). In other instances the councilors decide who is to receive the decoration. Thus the ketúaye outfit of 1930 was divided between me and the father of the girl associate, Iromkré, for he had taken great pains to fulfill his obligations toward his daughter's age-class moiety; and I had made a contribution for the festival. For the same reason in 1933 the council bestowed on me the ceremonial lance of the pepyé (pl. 31, *c*, *d*).

On well-nigh innumerable occasions food or prepared dishes, notably meat pies, must be provided. I should have to go through the entire ceremonial to list all the instances. The offerings range from an ordinary bowlful of food and the dramatic remuneration of the plaza groups by the novices' kinswomen, who set up in front of the youths' matrilineal homes carrying baskets (po) ostentatiously crammed with victuals. The obligations of the King Vultures also may be cited here, as well as the history of the arara feathers on the lance awarded to the leader of the Clowns.

Alienable incorporeal property is unknown. Ceremonial functions are conveyed gratis by inheritance along with the correlated personal names. All songs are common property, to be learnt and sung by anyone willing and able to do so. The Sun is addressed in impromptu words, and I have never noted any signs of magical formulae.

Since prior to contact with civilization the Timbira hardly owned objects of permanent value, the rules of inheritance must have been of minor significance. Snethlage goes so far as to allege (without citing his source) the destruction or interment with the corpse of such personal belongings as weapons, tools, and decoration. Such destruction is unknown to the contemporary Canella. If an Indian dies without issue, his present heirs are his matrilineal kindred, who for the time being take his weapons and ornaments into custody. Two or three days after the funeral they put everything on a mat, around which the relatives assemble for a lament. The gravedigger also appears and is allowed to pick out one or two items from the legacy. Formerly the usage was not to compensate him in this way, but with two newly plaited carrying baskets and large, decorated gourd bowls. The rest was distributed among the relatives. The dead man's sister's son does not receive any special share. On the other hand, they always give the widow some portion of the inheritance; in decency she, in turn, retaining as she does the cultivated plot, will give her mother-in-law a present from the crops raised there. If the deceased has children, they appropriate everything, irrespective of their sex. A woman's house and field, as well as her other belongings, are inherited by her daughter; if there is none, her sister or her sister's daughter inherits, never the deceased woman's husband or son. Thus, children of both sexes inherit from their father, but only a daughter inherits from her mother.

*Penal law.*—Since all the emphasis is on the preservation of intratribal peace, penal law is little developed. Ribeiro says:[248]

[248] Memoria, § 10.

Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the Apinayé[m] and Šerénte. I heard it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also wholly or in part among the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krẽyé of Bacabal, and the Krahõ'. Both characters are conceived as male and as unrelated to each other. In Rąmkõ'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pụkóbye variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the Rąmkõ'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pụt) and in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pụduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about 3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony (p. 62), nor was the hõčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance (p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows: "Kédeti! Iymã ampõ'no, vatoekũne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám, Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkõ'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system, which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body. They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

The moon spots are explained in Rąmkõ'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat differently by the Krẽyé of Bacabal.[n] No explanation was obtained for the lunar phases.

A lunar eclipse is called pụduvrị hitịk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

[m] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.
[n] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengés.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS



without the stars of the hook on the tail. It stood along the ostrich's path and he threatened to knock it down, but it begged to be spared since it would kill many people if it fell to the earth. Accordingly, the ostrich passes close beside this palm.

Another constellation near the galaxy, which I was never able to grasp, is called kapúre (= jahó, *Tinamus* sp.).

In Magellanic Cloud they see Auké's ashes (p. 245).

Against lightning, which they greatly fear because of its frequently observed effects on steppe trees, they resort to magic. A native will put the leaves of olho de boi (ropnto, jaguar eye) on his head and wave them toward the thunderstorm, saying, "mekričwąye, amekaprinare witáiye!"

The Krẽyé of Bacabal have a tale in which the storm figures as a tapir. The same story was heard among the descendants of the Gamella of Vianna.[80]

The rainbow (tanyõčwṇdn, person of the rain) has its two ends resting in the open mouths of two sucuriju snakes, which themselves yield rain. It appears as a sign that the rain has ceased. When the rainbow disappears, two eel-like fish, pṵppeyre (Neobrax.: muçum), rise to the sky, where they drop into a water hole. When there is a heavy rain they again drop back into the terrestrial water. One informant said that snakes ascended to the sky by the rainbow lest there be too many here on earth.

In the sky dwell carrion vultures under their chief, the king vulture, and falcons. They have human shape there, organize log races and celebrate festivals.

There is an underworld (ikrakripyẽ). According to a tale a man hunting an armadillo broke through the ground, tumbling into the underworld. "When he turned round, he noticed that he was on a steppe, but round about no living being was to be seen, not even a bird; everything near and far was still." The Šerénte tell a similar story, which they connect with their kwiudẽ'udá racing logs, which they derive from said armadillo.

### Animism

Every human being and every animal has a soul. Plants "perhaps" also have a soul, but theirs plays no part. At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth; nobody knows how and where it enters the body. The soul of a dead person, the distinct shadow cast by him, and his image are all called mekarõ. I have no evidence for belief in a temporary departure of the soul from a living body. Contrary to Apinayé theory, sickness is not imputed to temporary soul loss,[81] and the medicine-man's shadow is not supposed to roam about in order to learn what is going on at a distance. Accordingly, during a man's lifetime his soul does not play an independent role of practical significance.

It becomes all the more prominent after death; indeed, communion with the souls of the dead is the most conspicuous part of Eastern Timbira religion and forcibly struck Pohl among the Põrekamekra:

> Auch hier [i.e. in the cemetery for secondary burial] besuchen die Indianer noch oft die Grabhügel ihrer entschlafenen Lieben und erzählen ihnen alle Vorfallenheiten, fest überzeugt, dass die Verstorbenen sie hören und Anteil nehmen können. Diese Sitte erschien mir stets sehr rührend, und ich gestehe, dass ich oft innig bewegt diese guten Menschen so an den Gräbern sitzen sah.

However, I never observed this form of devotion near the graves. Further, I have neither discovered a belief in everlasting rewards or punishments, such as Pohl ascribes to these natives, nor ever heard that a soft rustling noise revealed the approach of the spirits.

The spirits of the dead usually reside in village-like communities in the localities

[80] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengés, 635; The Gamella, 13.
[81] The Apinayé, 144.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8



where they lived or were buried, that is, especially on old camp sites and in cemeteries, the will-o'-the-wisps occasionally rising from the ground of the latter being conceived as the spirits' camp fires. However, at times the souls also appear singly and in other places. Otherwise inexplicable shouting (mekaprẽp), such as occasionally resounds at night in steppes and woods, is ascribed to roaming spirits. Another abode is below the water of the Lake Kukąmóroča (p. 249).

Apart from some peculiarities due to their shadowy character, the souls lead an existence very similar to that of the living. They are neither more nor less happy. The spirits of old people, such as parents, grandparents and the grandparents' siblings, are credited with greater knowledge than is within the ken of the living; some declare that they know "everything." Accompanying their living relatives, they protect them wherever possible, drive away poisonous snakes from their path, and appear to them in waking hours or dreams in order to warn them against misfortune. Normally they are invisible; but if they so desire they can turn visible even in the middle of the day, either in their mortal shape or in some beast's. At night their sudden appearance, as a rule of but momentary duration, strikes terror into the visionary's heart, so that he will remain ill for days—notwithstanding the fact that these spirits are not hostile to man.

The story of Yawę' (p. 246) gives a tolerably clear picture of the relations between the living and the dead. The hero receives every kind of aid from the spirits and through intimate contact with them ultimately acquires the power to transform himself into an animal.

Around a dying Indian's bed the spirits of his deceased kin assemble. Sometimes, even some time before he breathes his last, they will persuade him to adopt their customs, to cease eating and speaking. These spirits accompany the corpse to the grave and, rejoicing to have the person in their midst now, they will conduct his soul to its new resting place. Souls of sucking babes are taken by a maternal uncle or corresponding kinsman. On the way to the hereafter the soul gets to a brook bridged by a thin, swaying tree; if the soul should slip off, it will be converted into an aquatic animal.

In general the relations between the living and the dead are wholly individual, but in the ketúaye they assume tribal character (p. 171). Here there are involved the totality of prospective initiates and the entire company of souls of the dead. As explained, it is difficult to get an explicit interpretation of this relationship from the present-day Indians, who obviously are not quite clear on the point. However, I cannot doubt that the principal object of the festival is to establish contact of the boys with the spirits. With reference to the last celebration, in 1934, which I was unfortunately unable to attend, an authoritative informant explained: "When the ketúaye sing in the spirit language [the ayų'k chant], the spirits approach, wishing to take away their shadow-souls. If they succeeded, the individuals in question would die at once. That is why the boys' kinswomen sit behind the boys with hands on their shoulders, while their kinsmen stand in the rear."

## Magic

The sun worship of these people is not connected with magic, or at least can do without it. In the instances on pages 131–132 one prayer is uttered accompanied by the magical use of urucú, while the other has no association with magic at all. The prayers themselves are wholly devoid of magical import. On the other hand, animism and magic are intimately linked. The tale of Yawę' illustrates the derivation of curative and magical knowledge from the spirits. Persons evincing ability and

1: Nimuendajú E-S (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS



inclination for such communion are called kái, and their principal function is to cure and ward off disease. Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:

> Sie haben in den Pflanzen ihrer heimatlichen Wälder durch Erfahrung mehrere Heilkräuter kennen gelernt, welche sie nun bey vorkommenden Fällen anwenden. So vertreiben sie z. B. das Fieber mit einer Dorstenia fol. reduntiv. Die Syphilis, welche leider häufiger vorkommt als man vermuten sollte, ... wird blos mit häufigem Waschen behandelt. Ophthalmie zeigte sich auch sehr häufig; gegen dieses Uebel sowie gegen Schlangenbisse sollen sie auch Arcana besitzen. Zur Heilung von Wunden wird der gekaute (!) Samen der Bixa brasiliensis [= urucú] verwendet. Zauberformeln fehlen bei diesen abergläubischen Menschen natürlich ebenfalls nicht. Segensprechungen, Zauberformeln und dergleichen werden sehr oft in ihren Krankheiten verwendet.[m]

This last method I have never witnessed.

Snethlage possibly rates Timbira medical lore too highly, but his text does not indicate which tribe he has in mind.[n] Ribeiro says:

> Curam geralmente as suas enfermidades com a sangria, e com o semente de urucú: A sangria fazem-a com uma navalha de canna verde a que chamam taboca.
>
> (In general they cure sickness by blood-letting and with urucú seeds. They let blood with a little knife of green cane called taboca.)[o]

Thus this author does not mention a blood-letting bow, as Snethlage assumes. Of all the Timbira tribes the Apinayé is the only one among whom I found this implement.

Medical lore is little developed among the Canella. The children rarely wear remedies and amulets attached to necklaces, wrist cords, or girdle cords. Since pretty nearly everyone tries his own luck at doctoring when sick, the medicine-man's role is rather subordinate. There are no pathological theories comparable to those of the Apinayé.[p] The Canella views are vacillating and confused, so that they have more confidence in Neobrazilian treatment than in their own. An enormous number of plant species yield roots, bark, and leaves for medicinal infusions, which are sometimes filtered with a wad of cotton through spirally twisted palm leaflets. During a seventeen-kilometer ride with me, Kentapí from the back of a horse pointed out some twenty steppe plants on the way and indicated their medicinal use. With such remedies, so far as I was able to learn, they attempt to cure themselves and others without following any true plan.

The manifold magico-medical application of urucú has been noted (p. 52). Another plant employed in this dual role in cases of sickness, particularly in epidemics, is the sucupira tree; the strong and odorous oil of the seeds is smelled against all conceivable diseases, especially catarrhs. Threatening epidemics are warded off by smoking oneself with the incense of the burnt green foliage of this tree or by lashing oneself with its twigs. This use rests on no medicinal virtues, but on the magical attributes of the tree, regarded by all Timbira as the symbol of strength and resistance. Another means for acquiring the toughness requisite for long begging journeys under unusual circumstances is to swallow several small grains of rolled quartz about 3 mm. in diameter from the sand of a creek.

Conjunctivitis is treated by washing the eyes with water into which the molten rosin of the jutahy tree (*Hymenaea* sp.) has been allowed to drip. Against muscular and articular pains the Indians apply an epiphyte (prĩkanyĩ'; Neobraz.: sumaré) which is steamed in hot ashes. When children at the breast fall ill, both parents drink an infusion from the bark of a steppe bush, mekakę're. The scraped bark of a small steppe tree called pekẽ'parkóp serves as a remedy for scabies, wounds on the ear loop, and head lice. Sometimes powdered charcoal is rubbed into

[m] Pohl, Reise, 2:197.
[n] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 185.
[o] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 16.
[p] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 144 *et seq.*